

IR406 Gender Justice and War

Introduction

‘Gender’ does not mean ‘women’, it refers to the ways in which human beings are classified as either male or female (even though this is not always biologically straightforward) and the association of these categories with particular subjective identities as well as social norms and expectations of masculinity and femininity. Gender can be explained or understood in a variety of ways, for example in ways which rely on biological, psycho-analytical, psychological, social or linguistic accounts of what it means to be gendered as a human being. But however it is defined and explained, gender has always been relevant to understanding and judging war. Over the past twenty years there have been a variety of developments in the theory and practice of war and peace which have brought the issue of gender centre stage. These range from the increasing involvement of women in the military, to the growth of feminist peace movements, to the so-called ‘feminisation’ of modern warfare, to the explicit inclusion of rape in the category of crimes against humanity. This is therefore a particularly interesting time to explore explanatory and normative questions about the mutual interrelation of gender and war.

Aims

A large literature has accumulated around the topics of gender and international relations and, in particular, of gender, war and peace since the 1980s. This course is designed to introduce students to some of the key themes in this literature. We will be exploring the following explanatory and normative questions: to what extent do gendered relations of power contribute to sustaining and reproducing war as a political, social and economic phenomenon? In what sense does gender figure in the causes and consequences of war? What are the implications of a gender perspective for normative judgements about war and peace? The key aim of the course is to enable students to understand and assess different answers to these questions, and to formulate and be able to defend their own responses.

Objectives

By the end of the course, students should:

1. Be able to understand and assess different theories of gender and the relations and distinctions between sex and gender, masculinity and femininity.
2. Be able to understand and assess the contributions of feminist theorists to the explanatory and normative judgment of international relations, war and peace.
3. Possess knowledge of substantive empirical material relating to a variety of topics: eg., women and homosexuals in the military; the role of sexual violence in war; gender and national identity; gender and transitional justice; gender and international law; gender, peace-keeping and peace-making; and women’s peace movements.
4. Be able to apply theoretical understanding to the judgment of empirical cases.

Teaching Methods

This course is taught in a 2 hour seminar format. **Seminars begin in Week 1, Michaelmas Term and are held weekly throughout Michaelmas Term, Lent Term and in the first week of Summer Term.** Seminars are intended as a forum for students to discuss specific questions in relation to specific readings. At the end of each seminar, students will be given a set of notes providing an overview and guidance on reading and questions for the following week’s topic. Students are expected to prepare

thoroughly for seminars by reading *at least three* of the key readings and thinking about the questions beforehand. For each seminar after the second meeting, one student will be nominated to introduce the discussion in the following week. The purpose of the introduction will be to frame the class debate by identifying key questions/ problems of interest in the literature for general discussion. All students will be expected to contribute to discussion in any given week. In addition, four seminars (Weeks 1-4, Lent Term) have been allocated for formal presentations (in pairs or groups) on one of the four topics identified below:

- 1. Gender roles in war post 1989: case study**
- 2. Gender and National Identity**
- 3. Political Violence and Sexual Violence**
- 4. Gender and Transitional Justice**

Guidance on the format for group presentations is given below.

Course Information

This course outline in addition to seminar notes will also be available electronically through the IR406 public folder.

Course Requirements

Students intending to take formal assessment in this course must also write three essays during the course of the year (maximum length 2,500 words).

Deadline Essay 1: 30th November

Deadline Essay 2: 29th February

Deadline Essay 3: 2nd May

Producing these essays is vital preparation for the end of year examination. Titles for essays can be taken from the seminar questions, from the sample examination papers (below) or negotiated with the tutor.

Course Assessment

One unseen 3 hour examination in the summer term, requiring 3 questions to be answered, at least one from each of the two sections (see sample papers below)

Guidelines on Presentations Weeks 1-4 Lent Term

- 1. Gender roles in wars post 1989: case study**
- 2. Gender and National Identity**
- 3. Political Violence and Sexual Violence**
- 4. Gender and Transitional Justice**

The purpose of these presentations is to give students the opportunity to work with each other to research a particular theme or set of questions in detail. Students can come to their own decisions on what they would like to concentrate on within the specified theme. The aim should be to construct a presentation of not more than 45 minutes, allowing the rest of the seminar for questions, discussion and

debate. These seminars will be entirely organised by the students in question, including managing the discussion period. Here are some points to bear in mind:

1. What is a presentation for?

Presentations are intended to facilitate and frame discussion of a topic. They are designed to deepen understanding of topics mapped out in hand-outs. They are not supposed to be repetitions of hand-out material or the equivalent of an essay read out loud. Presentations may take the form of an argument for a particular point of view or a more even handed overview of certain debates.

2. What makes a good presentation?

A good presentation is well researched, clearly structured and engages the attention of its audience. It raises questions, does not simply repeat hand-out material and is not so detailed that the audience are unable to follow. A good presentation leads to a lively discussion. However, presentations also depend for their success on the audience. If non-presenting members of the class have not done any preparation it is difficult for discussion to be stimulated, even if the presentation is a good one.

3. Resources

If you want photocopies for the presentation, you must get the material to Kim two days in advance. If you want OHP transparencies/ pens, or any other facilities then let Kim know in advance.

4. Tips

Don't try to do too much in a presentation. It is often more effective to look at one case study in detail than to try to cover everything relevant to a particular topic. Try and isolate the particular questions and empirical material you are interested in and then focus on that. Students giving presentations should work from notes (don't just read out a text) and address the group as a whole, not just the tutor. Use OHPs, hand-outs or power-point to remind you and your audience of the overall structure of your discussion. In the case of pair or group presentations, division of labour, co-ordination and rehearsal are key. A presentation will not work if each participant has produced an independent speech, participants need to decide on the structure of the presentation as a whole and then decide who does what. Aim for 45 minutes max. and end your presentation with further questions/topics for discussion.

Assessment

The presentations are not formally assessed, but each pair/ group will be provided with feedback which will comment on and allocate a grade to:

Content

Structure

Presentation skills

Effectiveness in stimulating discussion

Seminar Programme and Essay Deadlines

Michaelmas Term

1. Introduction to the Course (12/10/07)
2. Key Terms and concepts: gender and war (19/10/07)
3. Feminism, Gender and IR (26/10/07)
4. Waltz and Elshtain – a critical comparison (2/11/07)
5. War and Masculinity (9/11/07)
6. Gendered Language, Myths and Symbols in the Legitimation of War (16/11/07)
7. Women and Gays in the Military (23/11/07)
8. Gender and New Wars: sanctions; genocide and humanitarian intervention (30/11/07- **essay deadline**)
9. Gender, ‘civilians’, ‘combatants’ and humanitarian rescue/ relief (7/12/07)
10. Gender, Terrorism and the War on Terror (14/12/07)

Lent Term

11. Gender roles in war post-1989: case study (11/1/08)
12. Gender and national identity (18/1/08)
13. Political Violence and Sexual Violence (25/1/08)
14. Gender and Transitional Justice (1/2/08)
15. Gender, Peace-Making and Peace-keeping 1: Overview (8/2/08)
16. Gender, Peace-Making and Peace-keeping 2: UN Resolution 1325. (15/2/08)
17. Women’s and Feminist Peace Movements (22/2/08)
18. Feminist Ethics and the Critique of Just War Theory (29/2/08 – **essay deadline**)
19. Motherhood, War and the Idea of Maternal Thinking (7/3/08)
20. Feminism and Pacifism (14/3/07)

Summer Term

21. Gender, Justice and War: Review and Revision (2/5/08 – **essay deadline**)

Seminar Programme and Key Readings¹

Michaelmas Term

Week 2: Key Concepts: Gender and War

Questions: Why is 'gender' *not* a synonym for women? What is 'war'? How is 'war' changing? Why might gender be relevant to the understanding and judgment of war?

Key Readings

Gender: what differences can you see between Goldstein's and Carver's notions of 'gender'?

Carver, T. 'Feminist Theories of Politics and Postmodern Theories of Gender', Chapter 1 in *Gender is not a Synonym for Women**

Carver, T. et al Forum on Gender and International Relations, *International Studies Review*, Vol. 5, No. 2, 2003: 287-202.

Goldstein, J. S. 'A puzzle: the cross-cultural consistency of gender roles in war', Ch. 1, *War and Gender**

Symposium on Goldstein's War and Gender, *Perspectives on Politics*, Vol. 1, No. 2, 2003: 327-347.

War: is war becoming post-modern or pre-modern? Read a chapter from at least one of the following:

Coker, C. *Waging War Without Warriors? The changing culture of military conflict*, 2002.

Der Derian, J. *Virtuous War: mapping the military-industrial-media-entertainment network*, 2001.

Gray, C. H. *Postmodern War: the new politics of conflict*, 1997.

Kaldor, M. *New and Old Wars: organized conflict in a global era*, 1st Edition, 1999; 2nd edition 2006.

Week 3: Feminism, Gender and IR

Questions: What contribution has feminist scholarship made to the study of IR in the fields of a) empirical research; b) theory? What are the key features of feminist critiques of 'mainstream' IR? What is your assessment of the strengths and weaknesses of feminist approaches?

Key Readings

Carpenter, R. Charli 'Gender Theory in World Politics: Contributions of a Nonfeminist Standpoint', *International Studies Review*, Vol. 4, No. 3, 2002: 152-165.

Enloe, C. 'Gender Makes the World Go Round', Chapter 1, *Bananas, Beaches and Bases*, * see also Ch. 8

Squires, J & Weldes, J. 'Beyond Being Marginal: Gender and International Relations in Britain', *British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, 9 (2), 2007: 185-203.

Keohane, R, Tickner, J. A. et al 'Beyond Dichotomy: conversations between International Relations and Feminist Theory', *International Studies Quarterly*, 42 (1), 1998: 191-210.

Zalewski, M. 'Do We Understand Each Other Yet? Troubling feminist encounters within International Relations', *British Journal of Politics and IR*, 9 (2), 2007: 302-312.

¹ * = source is available as an offprint. Full references for all of the key readings are in the General Reading List below. Please note also that many of the journal articles mentioned in key readings are available electronically.

Survey articles – read one of

- Blanchard, E. 'Gender, International Relations, and the Development of Feminist Security Theory', *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, Vol. 28, No. 4, 2003.
- Hutchings, K. 'Feminist Philosophy and International Relations: a review essay', *Women's Philosophy Review*, No. 27, 2001.*
- Steans, J. 'Engaging from the Margins: feminist encounters with the "mainstream" of International Relations', *British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, Vol. 5, No. 3, 2003: 428-454.
- Youngs, G. 'Feminist International Relations: a contradiction in terms? Or: why women and gender are essential to understanding the world we live in', *International Affairs*, Vol. 80, No. 1, 2004: 101-114.

Critiques of feminist work in IR

- Jarvis, D. S. L. 'Feminist Revisions of International Relations', Ch 6 in *International Relations and the Challenge of Postmodernism*.
- Jones, A., 'Does 'Gender' Make the World Go Round? Feminist Critiques of International Relations', *Review of International Studies*, Vol. 22, No. 4, 1996: 405-429.

Week 4: Waltz and Elstain: a Critical Comparison

Kenneth Waltz's book *Man, the State and War* (1958) is a classic in international relations theory and his idea of the '3rd level' of analysis, or structural realism, continues to influence much mainstream work in international relations. Jean Bethke Elstain's book (1987) *Women and War* is a classic in feminist work on international relations. The purpose of this session is to deepen understanding of feminist engagements with mainstream IR by looking closely at these two texts and their strengths and weaknesses. See also chapters on Waltz and Elstain in I. Neumann & O. Waever (eds) *The Future of International Relations: masters in the making?*, London, Routledge, 1996. **JX1391 F99**

Week 5: War and Masculinity

Questions: What does it mean to claim that war is inherently masculine? Is it true that war, or political violence in general, is inherently masculine? What is the distinction between militarized masculinity and masculinity in general?

Key Readings

- Brienes, I. Connell, R. and Eide, I. (eds) *Male Roles, Masculinities and Violence*, Paris, UNESCO, 2000.
- Barrett, F. J. 'The Organizational Construction of Hegemonic Masculinity: the case of the US Navy' in Whitehead & Barrett (eds) *The Masculinities Reader*.*
- Cohn, C. 'Missions, Men and Masculinities', *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, Vol. 2, No. 3, 1999.
- Cohn, C. & Enloe, C. 'A Conversation with Cynthia Enloe: Feminists Look at Masculinity and the Men who Wage War', *Signs, Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, Vol. 28, NO. 4, 2003.
- Enloe, C. 'Beyond Steve Canyon and Rambo: Histories of Militarized Masculinity', Chapter 3 of *The Morning After: Sexual Politics at the end of the Cold War*
- Elshtain, J. B. *Women and War*, Chapter 6
- Goldstein, J. S. *Gender and War*, Chapter 5
- Hartsock, H. C. M. 'Masculinity, Heroism and the Making of War' in Harris & King (eds) *Rocking the Ship of State**
- Hooper, C. 'Masculinities and Masculinism', Ch. 2, *Manly States: masculinities, international relations and gender politics**

Moon, S. 'Gender, Militarization and Universal Male Conscription in South Korea' in Lorentzen & Turpin (eds) *The Women and War Reader*
Zalewski, M and Parpart, J. (eds) *The "Man" Question in International Relations*, Boulder CO, Westview Press, 1998.

Week 6: Gendered language, myths and symbols in the legitimation of war

Question: What part does gendered language, myth and symbolism play in the ideology of war?

Key Readings

- Bucur, M. 'Between the Mother of the Wounded and the Virgin of Jiu: Romanian women and the Gender of Heroism During the Great War', *Journal of Women's History*, Vol. 12, No. 2, 2000.
- Bunk, B. D. 'Revolutionary Warrior and Gendered Icon: Aida Lafluyente and the Spanish Revolution of 1934', *Journal of Women's History*, 15 (2), 2003: 99-122.
- Cohn, C. 'Sex and Death in the Rational World of Defense Intellectuals', *Signs*, Vol. 12, No. 4, 1987*
- Cohn, C. 'Emasculating America's Linguistic Deterrent' in Harris & King (eds) *Rocking the Ship of State*
- Cooke, M. 'Subverting the Gender and Military Paradigms' in Stiehm, J. Hicks (ed) *It's Our Military Too! Women and the US Military**
- Elshtain, J. B. *Women and War*, Chapter 2
- Jeffords, S. 'Telling the War Story' in Stiehm, J. Hicks (ed) *It's Our Military Too! Women and the US Military*
- Kesić, O. 'Women and Gender Imagery in Bosnia: amazons, sluts, victims, witches' in Ramet (ed) *Gender Politics in the Western Balkans**
- Leeuw, M. de 'A gentlemen's agreement: Srebrenica in the context of Dutch war history' in Cockburn & Zarkov (eds) *The Postwar Moment: militaries, masculinities and international peacekeeping**

Week 7: Women and Gays in the Military

Questions: Are the equal opportunities arguments the same for the military as for other areas of employment? How do we explain the traditional exclusion of women and gays from combat roles? How does the gender politics of militaries compare to the politics of race or sexuality?

Key Readings

- Bianco, D. Art 'Echoes of Prejudice: the debates over Race and Sexuality in the Armed Forces' in Rimmerman (ed) *Gay Rights/ Military Wrongs*.
- Burrelli, D. F. 'An Overview of the Debate on Homosexuals in the US Military', in Scott & Stanley (eds) *Gays and Lesbians in the Military**
- Bosch, J. & Verweij, D. 'Enduring Ambivalence: the Dutch armed forces and its women recruits' in Cockburn & Zarkov (eds) *The Postwar Moment: militaries, masculinities and international peacekeeping*
- Katzenstein, M. F. 'The Spectacle of Life and Death: Feminist and Lesbian/Gay Politics in the Military' in Rimmerman (ed) *Gay Rights and Military Wrongs*
- Hampf, M. M. "'Dykes" or "Whores": Sexuality and the Women's Army Corps in the United States during World War II', *Women's Studies International Forum*, Vol. 27, No. 1, 2004: 13-30.

- Harries-Jenkins, G. 'Women in Extended Roles in the Military: Legal Issues', *Current Sociology* 50 (2) 2002.
- Kummel, G. 'When Boy Meets Girl: The 'feminization' of the military', *Current Sociology*, Vol. 50, No. 5, 2002 (see also the rest of this special issue on 'Gender and the Military')*
- Lehring, G. L. 'Constructing the *Other* soldier: Gay identity's Military Threat' in Rimmerman (ed) *Gay Rights and Military Wrongs**
- Miller, L. L. 'Feminism and the Exclusion of Army Women from Combat' in Simon (ed) *Women in the Military**
- Pershing, J. L. 'Men and Women's Experiences with Hazing in a Male-Dominated Elite Military Institution', *Men and Masculinities*, 8. 4. 2006: 470-492.
- Woodward, R. & Winter, P. 'Discourses of Gender in the Contemporary British Army', *Armed Forces and Society*, 30 (2) 2000.

Week 8: Gender and New Wars: sanctions; genocide; humanitarian intervention

Questions: What are the key gender issues in so-called 'new wars'?

Key Readings

- Buck, L., Gallant, N. & Nossal, K., 'Sanctions as a Gendered Instrument of Statecraft', *Review of International Studies*, Vol. 24, No. 1, 1998.
- Cockburn, C. 'The Gendered Dynamics of Armed Conflict and Political Violence' in Moser & Clark (eds) *Victims, Perpetrators or Actors*
- Coker, C. 'Humanising Warfare, or why Van Creveld May be Missing the "Big Picture"', *Millenium: Journal of International Studies*, Vol. 29, No. 2, 2000: pp 449-460.
- Coker, C. 'Posthuman War', Ch. 7 in *Waging War Without Warriors? The Changing Culture of Military Conflict*, 2002.
- Creveld, M. van 'The Great Illusion: Women in the Military', *Millenium: Journal of International Studies*, Vol. 29, No. 2, 2000: pp 429-442.
- Elshtain, J. B. "'Shooting at the Wrong Target": A Response to Van Creveld', *Millenium*, Vol. 29, No. 2, 2000: pp 443-448
- Gardam, J. G. 'The Law of Armed Conflict: A Gendered Regime?' in D. Dallmeyer (ed) *Reconceiving Reality: women and international law**
- Jones, A. 'Gendercide and Genocide', *Journal of Genocide Research*, Vol. 2, No.2, 2000.*
- Kaldor, M. 'Bosnia-Herzegovina: A Case Study of a New War', Ch 3 in *New and Old Wars: organized violence in a global era*, 1999.
- Leeuw, M. de 'A gentlemen's agreement: Srebrenica in the context of Dutch war history' in Cockburn & Zarkov (eds) *The Postwar Moment: militaries, masculinities and international peacekeeping**
- Nordstrom, C. 'Wars and Invisible Girls, Shadow Industries and the Politics of Not-Knowing', *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, Vol. 1, No. 1, 1999
- Sjoberg, L. *Gender, Justice and the Wars in Iraq: a feminist reformulation of just war theory*, pp 147-163
- Smith, T. W. 'The New Law of War: Legitimizing Hi-Tech and Infrastructural Violence', *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 46, No. 3, 2002: 355-374.

Week 9: Gender, 'Civilians', 'Combatants' and humanitarian rescue/ relief

Questions: In what ways are the concepts of 'civilian' and 'combatant' gendered and what are the implications of this gendering? What are the gender politics of humanitarian rescue?

- Carpenter, R. Charli "'Women and Children First': Gender norms and humanitarian evacuation in the Balkans 1991-1995', *International Organization*, Vol. 57, No. 4, 2003: 661-694.
- Carpenter, R. Charli *Innocent Women and Children: gender, norms and the protection of civilians*, Aldershot, Ashgate, 2006.
- Kinsella, H. M. 'Securing the civilian: sex and gender in the laws of war' in M. Barnett & R. Duvall (eds) *Power and Global Governance*, 2005.
- Mertus, J., 'Applying a Gender Perspective' Chapter 2, *War's Offensive on Women: the humanitarian challenge in Bosnia, Kosovo, and Afghanistan**
- Sjoberg, L. 'Gendered Realities of the Immunity Principle: why gender analysis needs feminism', *International Studies Quarterly*, 50 (4), 2006: 889-910.
- Williams, S. 'Conflicts of interest: Gender in Oxfam's Emergency Response' in Cockburn & Zarkov (eds) *The Postwar Moment: Militaries, masculinities and international peacekeeping*.

Week 10: Gender, Terrorism and the War on Terror

Questions: What is the relationship between the gendered politics of war and the gendered politics of terrorism? How have feminist scholars responded to 9/11 and the 'War on Terror'? What is the gender politics of the 'war on terror'?

- Alloo, Hoffman et al, Forum: the Events of 11th September and Beyond in *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, Vol. 4, No. 1, 2002.*
- Bar On, B-A et al Forum on the War on Terrorism, *Hypatia*, Vol. 18, No. 1, 2003.
- Bouatta, C. 'Feminine Militancy: Moudjahidates during and after the Algerian War' in V. Moghadam (ed) *Gender and National Identity: women and politics in Muslim societies*.
- Ferguson, M. L. "'W" Stands For Women: feminism and security rhetoric in the post – 9/11 Bush Administration', *Politics and Gender*, 1. 1, 2005.
- Griset, P. & Mahan, S. *Terrorism in Perspective*, Section 5, 'Women as Terrorists'
- Hawkesworth, M. & Alexander, K. (eds) Special Issue of *Signs*, 'War and Terror 1: Raced-gendered logics and effects in conflict zones', 32 (4) 2007.
- Hunt, K. and Rygiel, K. *(En)Gendering the War on Terror: war stories and camouflaged politics*, Aldershot, Ashgate: 2006.
- Ibanez, A. C. 'El Salvador: War and Untold Stories – Women Guerillas' in Moser & Clark (eds) *Victims, Perpetrators or Actors*
- International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 8. 1. 2006. Articles by Youngs, Shepherd and Nayak.
- Hunt, K & Rygiel, K. (eds) *(En)Gendering the War on Terror*, 2006.
- Kimmel, M. S. 'Globalization and its Mal(e)Contents: the gendered political economy of terrorism', *International Sociology*, Vol. 18, No. 3, 2003: 603-620.
- Roundtable: September 11 and its Aftermath: voices from Australia, Canada, and Africa, *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, Vol. 29, No. 2, 2003.
- Tickner, J. Ann 'Feminist Perspectives on 9/11', *International Studies Perspectives*, Vol. 3, No. 4: 2002: 333-350.
- Young, I. M. 'The Logic of Masculinist Protection: Reflections on the Current Security State', *Signs: Journal of Women, Culture and Society*, Vol. 29, No. 2, 2003.

Lent Term

Week 1: Pair/ Group Presentation on Gender Roles in Wars post-1989 (case study).

Key Readings: See lists for MT Weeks 8 -10 above. The presenting group should select one particular conflict as the focus of their analysis.

Week 2: Pair/ Group Presentation on Gender and National Identity

Key Readings

- Banerjee, S. 'Armed Masculinity, Hindu Nationalism and female political participation in India', *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 8 (1), 2006: 62-83.
- Bracewell, W. 'Women, Motherhood and Contemporary Serbian Nationalism', *Women's International Studies Forum*, 19 (1/2) 1996: 25-33.
- Cockburn, C. 'Women and Nationalism', Chapter 1 in *The Space Between Us: negotiating gender and national identities in conflict*.
- Einhorn, B. & Duchon, S. (eds) *Women's Studies International Forum: Links Across Differences: Gender, Ethnicity and Nationalism*, Vol.19, Issues 1-2, 1996 – see in particular articles by Einhorn, Peterson, Yuval-Davis.
- Jacobi, T. A. 'Gendered Nation: A History of the Interface of Women's Protest and Jewish Nationalism in Israel', *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, Vol. 1, No. 3, 1999
- Kandiyoti, D., 'Identity and its Discontents: Women and the Nation', *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, Vol. 20, No. 3, 1991
- Kim, K-A, 'Nationalism: an advocate of, or a barrier to, feminism in South Korea', *Women's International Studies Forum*, 19 (1/2), 1996: 65-74.
- Kwon, I. 'A Feminist Exploration of Military Conscription: the gendering of the connections between nationalism, militarism and citizenship in South Korea', *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, Vol. 3, No. 1, 2001
- Peterson, V. Spike 'Political Identities/ Nationalism as Heterosexism', *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, Vol. 1, No. 1, 1999*
- Rao, S. 'Woman-as Symbol: the intersections of identity politics, gender, and Indian nationalism', *Women's Studies International Forum*, Vol. 22, Issue 3, 1999
- Sunindyo, S. 'When the Earth is Female and the Nation is Mother: Gender, Armed Conflict and Nationalism in Indonesia', *Feminist Review*, Issue 58, Spring 1998
- Yuval-Davis, N. *Gender and Nation*, London, Sage, 1997

Week 3: Pair/ Group Presentation on Political Violence and Sexual Violence

Key Readings

- Alison, M. 'Wartime Sexual Violence: women's human rights and questions of masculinity', *Review of International Studies*, 33 (1) 2007: 75-90.
- Carpenter, R. C. 'Surfacing Children: limitations of genocidal rape discourse', *Human Rights Quarterly*, 22 (2) 2000: 428-477.
- Enloe, C. 'The Prostitute, the Colonel, and the Nationalist', Chapter 3 of *Maneuvers*
- Hein, L. 'Savage Irony: the Imaginative Power of the "Military Comfort Women" in the 1990s', *Gender and History*, Vol. 11, No. 2, 1999
- Jones, A. 'Straight as a Rule: heteronormativity, gendercide and the non-combatant male', *Men and Masculinities*, 8. 4. 2006: 451-2006.
- Mackinnon, C. 'Crimes of War, Crimes of Peace', in S. Shute & S. Hurley (eds) *On Human Rights: the Oxford amnesty Lectures 1993*.
- Price, L. S. 'Finding the Man in the Soldier-Rapist: some reflections on comprehension and accountability', *Women's Studies International Forum*, vol. 24, No. 2, 2001*

- Seifert, R. 'The Second Front: the logic of sexual violence in wars', *Women's Studies International Forum*, Vol. 19, Nos. 1-2, 1996*
- Skjelsbæk, I. 'Sexual Violence and War: Mapping out a Complex Relationship', *European Journal of International relations*, Vol. 7, No. 2., 2003: 211-237.
- Thomas, D. Q. & Ralph, R. E. 'Rape in War: The Case of Bosnia' in Ramet (ed) *Gender Politics in the Western Balkans*
- Turshen, M. 'The Political Economy of Rape: an Analysis of Systematic Rape and Sexual Abuse of Women During Armed Conflict in Africa' in Moser & Clark (eds) *Victims, Perpetrators or Actors*
- Zarkov, D. 'The Body of the Other Man: Sexual Violence and the Construction of Masculinity, Sexuality and Ethnicity in the Croatian Media' in Moser & Clark (eds) *Victims, Perpetrators or Actors*

Week 4: Pair/Group Presentation on Gender and Transitional Justice

Key Readings

- Askin, K. D. *War Crimes Against Women: prosecution in international war crimes tribunals*, Chapters 2-5 & 7-8
- Berghoffen, D. 'February 22, 2001: towards a politics of the vulnerable body', *Hypatia*, Vol. 18, No. 1, 2003: 116-133.
- Campbell, K. 'Rape as a "crime against humanity": trauma, law and justice in the ICTY', *Journal of Human Rights*, 2 (4), 2003: 507-555.
- Charlesworth, H. & Chinkin, C. 'Redrawing the boundaries of international law', Ch. 10 in *The Boundaries of International Law: a feminist analysis**
- Chinkin, C. 'Women's International Tribunal on Japanese Military Sexual Slavery', *American Journal of International Law*, 95 (2), 2001: 335-341.
- Gardam, J. G. & Jarvis, M. J. 'International Redress', Ch. 6, *Women, Armed Conflict and International Law**
- Graybill, L. 'The Contribution of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission Toward the Promotion of Women's Rights in South Africa', *Women's Studies International Forum*, Vol. 24, No. 1, 2001
- Krog, A. 'Locked into Loss and Silence: Testimonies of Gender and Violence in the South Africa Truth Commission' in Moser & Clark (eds) *Victims, Perpetrators or Actors*
- McKay, S. 'Gender Justice and Reconciliation', *Women's Studies International Forum*, Vol. 23, No. 5, 2000*
- Mertus, J. 'Shouting from the Bottom of the Well: The Impact of International Trials for Wartime Rape on Women's Agency', *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, Vol. 6, No. 1, 2004: 110-128.
- Minow, M. 'Breaking the Cycles of Hatred' in Minow & Rosenblum (eds) *Breaking the Cycles of Hatred: memory, law and repair*, 2002.*
- Sideris, T. 'Problems of Identity, Solidarity and Reconciliation', in Meintjes et al (eds) *The Aftermath: women in post-conflict transformation*, 2001.

Week 5: Gender, peace-making and peace keeping 1: overview of issues

Question: Does a gender analysis contribute anything to the theory and practice of conflict resolution and peaceful regime change?

Week 6: Gender, peace-making and peace keeping 2: UN Resolution 1325

Question: Assess the rationale for, and impact of, UN Resolution 1325

Key Readings

- A Stone in the Water: Report of Roundtables with Afghan-Canadian Women on the Question of the Application UN Security Council Resolution 1325 in Afghanistan,
(www.humansecuritybulletin.info/archive/en_v1i4/inthenews_5.htm)
- Beilstein, J. 'The Expanding Role of Women in United Nations Peacekeeping', in Lorentzen & Turpin (eds) *The Women and War Reader*
- Callaghan, M. H. 'Surveying Politics of Peace, Gender Conflict and Identity in Northern Ireland: the case of the Derry Peace Women in 1972', *Women's Studies International Forum*, Vol. 25, No. 1, 2002
- Cockburn, C. & Zarkov, D. (eds) *The Postwar Moment: militaries, masculinities and international peacekeeping*, 2002.
- Cordero, I. C. 'Social Organizations: from victims to actors in peace-building', in Moser & Clark (eds) *Victims, Actors or Perpetrators*
- Enloe, C. 'Are UN Peacekeepers Real Men? And other Post-Cold War Puzzles' in *The Morning After: Sexual Politics at the end of the cold war*
- Helms, E. 'Women as Agents of Ethnic Reconciliation? Women NGOs and International Intervention in Postwar Bosnia-Herzegovina', *Women's Studies International Forum*, vol. 26, No. 1, 2003*
- Jacobson, R. 'Women and Peace in Northern Ireland: A complicated relationship' in Jacobs, Jacobson and Marchbank (eds) *States of conflict: gender, violence and resistance**
- Mazurana, D. 'International Peacekeeping Operations: to neglect gender is to risk peacekeeping failure', in Cockburn & Zarkov (eds) *The Postwar Moment*
- Mazurana, D., Raven-Roberts, A. and Parpart, J. (eds) *Gender, Conflict and Peacekeeping*, Rowman and Littlefield: 2005.
- Whitworth, S. & Mazurana, D. 'Women, Peace and Security: Secretary General's Report' (www.humansecuritybulletin.info/archive/)
- Whitworth, S. *Men, Militarism and UN Peacekeeping*, Boulder CO, Lynne Rienner, 2004.
- Women, Peace and Security: 1325, Discussion in *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, Vol. 6, No. 1, 2004: 130-140.

Week 7: Gender and Peace Movements

Questions: How would you assess the work of feminist anti-nuclear campaigners in the 1980s or 'The Women in Black'? Is there an argument for women-only or women-led peace movements? How successful have these movements been over time?

Key Readings

- Brown, A. 'Women's Resistance Camp: Hunsrück, West Germany', *Women's Studies International Forum*, Vol. 12, Issue 1, 1989.
- Kirk, G. 'Our Greenham Common: Feminism and Nonviolence' in Harris & King (eds) *Rocking the Ship of State*
- Lentin, R. 'Israeli and Palestinian Women Working for Peace' in Lorentzen & Turpin (eds) *The Women and War Reader*
- Roseneil, S. 'The External Mode of Action', Ch 6* *Disarming Patriarchy: feminism and political action at Greenham*, see also Ch 5.
- Shadmi, E. 'Between Resistance and compliance, feminism and nationalism: Women in Black in Israel', *Women's Studies International Forum*, Vol. 23, No. 1, 2000

Snyder, A. C. *Setting the Agenda for Global Peace: conflict and consensus building*, 2003.
 Svirsky, G. 'The Impact of Women in Black in Israel', in Lorentzen & Turpin (eds) *The Women and War Reader*
 Wittner, L. S. 'Gender Roles and Nuclear Disarmament Activism 1954-1965', *Gender and History*, Vol. 12, No. 1, 2000
 Women In Black Website Address: <http://www.womeninblack.net/>

Week 8: Feminist Ethics and the Critique of Just War Theory

Question: What are the central themes of the feminist critique of 'mainstream' ethics? In what sense, if any, is just war theory masculinist?

Key Readings

Browning-Cole, E. & Coultrap McQuin, S. 'Toward a Feminist conception of a Moral Life' in Browning-Cole & Coultrap-McQuin (eds) *Explorations in Feminist Ethics*
 Elshtain, J. B. *Women and War*, Chapter 4
 Hutchings, K., 'Towards a Feminist International Ethics' *Review of International Studies*, Vol. 26, Special Issue, December 2000*
 Hutchings, K. 'Feminist ethics and Political Violence', *International Politics* 44 (3), 2007: 90-106.
 Hutchings, K. 'Beauvoir and the Ambiguous Ethics of Political Violence', *Hypatia: journal of feminist philosophy* 22 (3), 2007: 110-132.
 Peach, L. 'An Alternative to Pacifism? Feminism and Just War Theory', *Hypatia*, Vol. 9, No. 2, 1994*
 Robinson, F. 'Traditions of International ethics: a critical reappraisal', Ch. 4, *Globalizing Care**
 Ruddick, S. *Maternal Thinking*, Chapter 6
 Sjoberg, L. *Gender, Justice and the Wars in Iraq: a feminist reformulation of just war theory*, 2006.

Week 9: Motherhood, War and the Idea of Maternal Thinking

Question: What has motherhood to do with war? Assess Ruddick's argument for a feminist, non-violent ethics based on the notion of 'maternal thinking'.

Key Readings

Alwis, M. de 'Moral Mothers and Stalwart Sons: reading binaries in a time of war' in Lorentzen & Turpin (eds) *The Women and War Reader*.
 Kaplan, L. D. 'Women as Nurturer: An Archetype Which Supports Patriarchal Militarism', *Hypatia*, Vol. 9, No. 2, 1994
 Bailey, A. 'Mothering, Diversity and Peace Politics: a review essay', *Hypatia*, Vol. 9, No. 2, 1994.
 Elshtain, J. B. *Women and War*, Chapter 5
 Forcey, L. R. 'Making of Men in the Military: Perspectives from Mothers', *Women's Studies International Forum*, Vol. 7, No. 6, 1984
 Nicolić-Ristanović, V. 'War, Nationalism, and Mothers in the Former Yugoslavia' in Lorentzen & Turpin (eds) *The Women and War Reader*
 Ruddick, S. 'Maternal Thinking', Ch 1, *Maternal Thinking**, see also Chs. 2 & 7
 Scheper-Hughes, N. 'Maternal Thinking and the Politics of War' in Lorentzen & Turpin (eds) *The Women and War Reader*

Week 10: Feminism, Pacifism and Non-Violence

Question: What is the relationship between feminism and pacifism as political ideologies? Is there a necessary link between feminism and non-violence? Can non-violent action change the world?

Key Readings

- Carroll, B. A. 'Feminism and Pacifism: Historical and Theoretical Connections', Chapter 1 in Pierson (ed) *Women and Peace: Theoretical, Historical and Practical Perspectives**
- Carroll, B. A. "'Women Take Action!'" Women's Direct Action and Social Change', *Women's Studies International Forum*, vol. 12, No. 1, 1989
- Carter, A. 'Should Women be Soldiers or Pacifists?' in Lorentzen & Turpin (eds) *The Women and War Reader*
- Harris, A. 'Bringing Artemis to Life: a plea for militance and aggression in feminist peace politics' in Harris & King (eds) *Rocking the Ship of State*
- Mason, C. 'Women, Violence and Nonviolent Resistance in East Timor', *Journal of Peace Research* 42 (6), 2005: 737-759.
- Ruddick, S. *Maternal Thinking*, Chapter 9
- Stephenson, C. M. 'Feminism, Pacifism, Nationalism, and the United Nations Decade for Women', *Women's Studies International Forum*, Vol. 5, No. 3-4, 1982
- Tester, M., Natchwey, J. & Grant, A. 'Further Tests of the Women and Peace Hypothesis: Evidence from Cross National Survey Research in the Middle East', *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 43, No. 3, September 1999

FURTHER READING

Reading Suggestions for Beginners

This course engages with massive literatures from a range of disciplines and fields, the following are suggestions to get people started who have no background in one or other of the three key literatures from which the course draws: international relations; gender studies and feminist scholarship.

If you have no background in IR, I suggest you read one of the following textbooks for an overview of the field:

J. Baylis & S. Smith (eds) *The Globalization of World Politics* (Oxford, OUP, 3rd Edition, 2001) **JX1395** (intended for undergraduate beginners)

Chris Brown with Kirsten Ainley *Understanding International Relations* (Basingstoke, Palgrave, 3rd edition 2005) **JZ1305 B87** (more sophisticated)

S. Burchill et al *Theories of International Relations* (Basingstoke, Palgrave, 3rd edition 2005) **JX1391** (also more sophisticated and focused solely on theoretical paradigms)

If you have no background in gender theory, I suggest you read the following introduction, Connell, R. W. *Gender*, Cambridge, Polity, 2002 **CC HQ1075 C75**

If you have no background in feminist theory, I suggest you read at least one of:

Humm, M. (ed) *Feminisms : a reader*, New York & London, Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1992 **HQ1111 F32** ;

Tong, R. *Feminist Thought : a comprehensive introduction*, Boulder CO, Westview, 1989 **HQ1206 T66**.

Eagleton, M. (ed) *A Concise Companion to Feminist Theory*, Malden MA & Oxford, Blackwell, 2003. **HQ1190 C74**

Kim, S-K & McCann, C. (eds) *Feminist Theory Reader*, New York & London, Routledge, 2002. **HQ1190 F47**

In addition, the key readings specified for seminars in Weeks 2,3 and 4 should help to build up a suitable background to tackle the rest of the course.

General Reading List²

Sex, Gender and Feminism

Adams, R. & Savran, D. (eds) *The Masculinity Studies Reader*, Oxford, Blackwell, 2002 **MC HQ1088 M39**.

Alsop, R. Fitzsimons, A. & Lennon, K. *Theorizing Gender*, Malden MA, Blackwell, 2002 **MC HQ1075 A46**.

Anselmi, D. & Law, A. L. (eds) *Questions of Gender: perspectives and paradoxes*, Boston, Mass., McGraw Hill, 1998 **CC BF692.2 A61**.

Archer, J. Lloyd, B. *Sex and Gender*, New York, Cambridge University Press, 2002 **CC GN479.65**.

Basu, A. & McGory, C. E. (eds) *The Challenge of Local Feminisms: women's movements in global perspective*, Boulder CO, Westview, 1995 **CC HQ1111 C43**.

Bowker, L. H. *Masculinities and Violence*, Thousand Oaks, CA., Sage, 1998 **MC HQ1090 M39**.

Carver, T. *Gender is not a Synonym for Women*, Boulder, Lynne Rienner, 1996, **CC HQ1190 C33**.

² ** = Temporarily restricted loan.

- Carver, T. & Mottier, V. (eds) *Politics of Sexuality*, London, Routledge, 1999 **MC HQ23 P76.****
- Connell, R. W. *Gender*, Cambridge, Polity, 2002 **CC HQ1075 C75.**
- Connell, R. W., 'The social organization of masculinity' in Connell, *Masculinities*, Cambridge, Polity, 1995: pp 67-86. **CC HQ1088 C75.**
- Connell, R. W. 'Change Among the Gatekeepers : men, masculinities and gender equality in the global arena', *Signs : journal of women, culture and society*, 30. 3, Spring 2005.
- Digby, T. (ed) *Men Doing Feminism*, New York, Routledge, 1998 **MC HQ1090.3 M53.**
- Eagleton, M. (ed) *A Concise Companion to Feminist Theory*, Malden MA & Oxford, Blackwell, 2003. **HQ1190 C74**
- Edley, N. *Men in Perspective : practice, power and identity*, Hemel Hempstead, Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1995 **MCRT HQ1090 E21.**
- Fausto-Sterling, A. *Sexing the Body : gender politics and the construction of sexuality*, New York, Basic Books, 2000 **CC HQ1075 F26.**
- Haddad, T. (ed) *Men and Masculinities : A Critical Anthology*, Toronto, Canadian Scholars Press, 1993 **MC HQ1090 M53.**
- Humm, M. (ed) *Feminisms : a reader*, New York & London, Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1992 **MCRT HQ1111 F32.**
- Johnson, A. G. *The Gender Knot : unravelling our patriarchal legacy*, Philadelphia, Temple University Press, 1997 **MC HQ1075 J61.**
- Kim, S-K & McCann, C. (eds) *Feminist Theory Reader*, New York & London, Routledge, 2002. **HQ1190 F47**
- Lancaster, R. N. & Leonardo, M. di (eds) *The Gender/Sexuality Reader : culture, history and political economy*, New York, Routledge, 1997 **CC GN479.65 G33.**
- Mohanty, C, Russo, A. & Torres, L. (eds) *Third World Women and the Politics of Feminism*, Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 1991 **CC HQ1870.9 T44**
- Nicholson, L. (ed) *Feminism/Postmodernism*, London, Routledge, 1990 **CC HQ1206 F32.**
- Ouzgane, L. (ed) *Islamic Masculinities*, London, Zed Books, 2006. **HQ1090 I81**
- Parker, R. G., Barbosa, R. M. & Aggleton, P. (eds) *Framing the Sexual Subject : the politics of gender, sexuality and power*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 2000 **MC HQ23 F81.**
- Schacht, S. P. & Ewing, D. W. (eds) *Feminism and Men : reconstructing gender relations*, New York, New York University Press, 1998 **MC HQ1426 F32.**
- Stearns, P. N. *Gender in World History*, London, Routledge, 2000 **MC HQ1075 S79.****
- Tong, R. *Feminist Thought : a comprehensive introduction*, Boulder CO, Westview, 1989 **CC HQ1206 T66.**
- Trip, A. (ed) *Gender*, Basingstoke, Palgrave, 2000 **MC HQ1075 G33.****
- Whitehead, S. M. & Barrett, F. J. (eds) *The Masculinities Reader*, Malden, Mass., Polity, 2001 **MC HQ1090 M39.****

Gender, Feminism and International Relations

- Blanchard, E. 'Gender, International Relations, and the Development of Feminist Security Theory', *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, Vol. 28, No. 4, 2003: 1289-1312. **HQ1101**
- Carpenter, R. C. 'Gender Theory in World Politics: Contributions of a Nonfeminist Standpoint?', *International Studies Review*, Vol. 4, Issue 3, 2002: pp 153-165 **D839.**
- Carver, T. et al Forum on Gender and International Relations, *International Studies Review*, Vol. 5, No. 2, 2003: 287-202. **D839**
- Enloe, C. *Bananas, Beaches and Bases: making feminist sense of international politics*, London, Pandora, 1989 (2nd Edition, Berkeley, University of California Press, 2000) **CCHQ1236 E51.**
- Enloe, C., *The morning after: sexual politics at the end of the cold war* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993) **CC HQ1233 E51.**

- Grant, R. and Newland, K. (eds.), *Gender and International Relations*, London, Macmillan, 1990 **CC HQ1236 G33**.
- Hooper, C., 'Masculinities, IR and the 'gender variable': a cost-benefit analysis for (sympathetic) gender sceptics' *Review of International Studies* Vol. 25, no. 3, 1999: pp. 475-491 **MC JX1**.
- Hooper, C. *Manly States: masculinities, international relations, and gender politics*, New York, Columbia University Press, 2001 **HQ1090 H78.****
- Hutchings, K., 'The Personal is International: Feminist Epistemology and the Case of International Relations' in Lennon & Whitford (eds) *Knowing the Difference: feminist perspectives in epistemology*, London, Routledge, 1994 **CC HQ1190 K71**.
- Hutchings, K. 'Feminist Philosophy and International Relations: A Review Essay', *Women's Philosophy Review*, No. 27, 2001: pp31-55 **HQ1101**.
- Jarvis, D. S. L. *International Relations and the Challenge of Postmodernism*, Columbia SC, University of South Carolina Press, 2000. **MC JZ1249 J31**
- Jones, A., 'Does 'Gender' Make the World Go Round? Feminist Critiques of International Relations', *Review of International Studies*, 22, 4 (1996) **MC JX1**.
- Keohane, R et al 'Beyond Dichotomy: conversations between international relations and feminist theory', *International Studies Quarterly*, 42 (1) 1998: 191-210.
- Murphy, C., 'Seeing Women, Recognising Gender, Recasting International Relations', *International Organization* **OFF/P.4410**.
- Neumann, I & Waever, O. (eds) *The Future of International Relations: masters in the making?* , London, Routledge, 1996. **JX1391 F99**
- Parpart, J and Zalewski, M. (eds.), *The 'Man Question' in International Relations*, Boulder, Westview Press, 1998 **CC JZ1253.2 M26**.
- Peterson, V. S., *Gendered States: Feminists (Re)Vision of International Relations Theory*, Boulder, CO, Lynne Rienner, 1992 **CC/MC JX1391 G33**.
- Peterson, V. S. & Runyan, A. *Global Gender Issues*, Boulder CO, Westview Press, 1999 **CC HQ1236 P48**.
- Peterson, V. S., 'Transgressing Boundaries: Theories of Knowledge, Gender and International Relations', *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, 21, 2, 1992. **MC JX1**.
- Pettman, J. *Worlding Women*, London, Routledge, 1996 **MC HQ1236 P51**.
- Shepherd, L. "'Victims, Perpetrators and Actors" Revisited: exploring the potential for a feminist reconceptualisation of (International) Security and (Gender) Violence', *British Journal of Politics and IR*, 9 (2), 2007: 239-256.
- Squires, J. & Weldes, J. (eds) *Gender and International Relations in Britain*, Special Issue of *British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, 9 (2), 2007.
- Steans, J. *Gender and International Relations: An Introduction*, Cambridge, Polity, 1998 **CC JX1253.2 S79**
- Sylvester, C., *Feminist Theory and International Relations in a Postmodern Era*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1994 **CC HQ1190 S98**.
- Sylvester, C., *Feminist International Relations: An Unfinished Journey*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2001 **MC HQ1190 S98**.
- Sylvester, C. 'The Art of War/ The War Question in (Feminist) IR', *Millennium: journal of international studies*, 33. 3, 2005.
- Tickner, A., *Gender in International Relations: Feminist Perspectives on Achieving Global Security*, New York, Columbia University Press, 1992 **MC JX1391 T55.****
- Tickner, A. *Gendering World Politics : issues and approaches in the post-Cold War era*, New York, Columbia University Press, 2001 **MC HQ1154 T55**.
- Waltz, K. *Man, the State and War : a theoretical analysis*, New York, Columbia University Press, 2nd Edition 2001 (1st Ed.1959) **CC JX1313 W24**
- Whitworth, S., 'Gender and the Inter-Paradigm Debate', *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, 18, 2(1989). **MC JX1**.
- Whitworth, S., *Feminism and International Relations* London, Macmillan, 1994 **CC HQ1154 W62**.

- Youngs, G. 'Feminist International Relations: a contradiction in terms? Or: why women and gender are essential to understanding the world 'we' live in', *International Affairs*, Vol. 80, No. 1, 2004: 101-114 **JX1**
- Youngs, G. 'Feminist International Relations in the Age of the War on Terror: ideologies, religions and conflict', *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 8. 1. 2006: 3-18.
- Zalewski, M. 'Do We Understand Each Other Yet? Troubling feminist encounters within International Relations', *British Journal of Politics and IR*, 9 (2), 2007: 302-312.

Gender and War: Legitimation, Reproduction, Effects

- Alloo, Hoffman et al "The Events of September the 11th and Beyond", *Forum in International Feminist Journal of Politics*, Vol. 4, No. 1, 2002: pp 95-113 **HQ1236**
- Askin, K. D. *War Crimes Against Women: prosecution in international war crimes tribunals*, The Hague, M. Nijhoff, 1997 **MC K5301 A83.****
- Bar On, B-A et al Forum on the War on Terrorism, *Hypatia*, Vol. 18, No. 1, 2003: 157-231. **HQ1101.**
- Berghoffen, D. 'February 22, 2001: towards a politics of the vulnerable body', *Hypatia*, Vol. 18, No. 1, 2003: 116-133. **HQ1101**
- Brienes, I. Connell, R. and Eide, I. (eds) *Male Roles, Masculinities and Violence: a culture of peace perspective*, Paris, UNESCO, 2000. BF692.5 M24.
- Buck, L., Gallant, N. & Nossal, K., 'Sanctions as a Gendered Instrument of Statecraft', *Review of International Studies*, Vol. 24, No. 1, 1998 **JX1**.
- Bucur, M. 'Between the Mother of the Wounded and the Virgin of Jiu: Romanian Women and the Gender of Heroism during the Great War', *Journal of Women's History*, Vol. 12, No. 2, 2000: pp 30-56 **HQ1101**.
- Bunk, B. D. 'Revolutionary Warrior and Gendered Icon: Aida Lafluyente and the Spanish Revolution of 1934', *Journal of Women's History*, Vol. 15, No. 2, 2003: 99-122. **HQ1101**
- Campbell, P. 'Gender and Post-Conflict Civil Society', *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 7. 3, 2005: 377-399.
- Carpenter, R. C. 'Beyond Gendercide: Operationalizing Gender In Comparative Genocide Studies', *International Journal of Human Rights*, Vol. 6, No. 2, 2002 **JC571**.
- Carpenter, R. C. 'Women, Children and Other Vulnerable Groups: gender, strategic frame and the protection of civilians as a transnational issue', *International Studies Quarterly*, 49. 2, 2005.
- Carpenter, R. *Charli Innocent Women and Children: gender, norms and the protection of civilians*, Aldershot, Ashgate, 2006. **KZ6515 C29**
- Charlesworth, H. & Chinkin, C. *The Boundaries of International Law: a feminist analysis*, Manchester, Manchester University Press, 2000 **CC KZ3405.C43 C47**.
- Cockburn, C. *The Line: women, partition and the gender order in Cyprus*, New York, Zed Books, 2004 **HQ1991.95 C66**
- Cockburn, C. & Zarkov, D. (eds) *The Postwar Moment: militaries, masculinities and international peacekeeping, Bosnia and the Netherlands*, London, Lawrence & Wishart, 2002 **MC U270 P85.****
- Cohn, C. 'Sex and Death in the Rational World of Defense Intellectuals', *Signs*, Vol. 12, No. 4, 1987 **HQ1101**.
- Cohn, C. & Enloe, C. 'A Conversation with Cynthia Enloe: Feminists Look at Masculinity and the Men who Wage War', *Signs, Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, Vol. 28, NO. 4, 2003. **HQ1101**
- Coker, C. *Waging War without Warriors? The changing culture of military conflict*, Boulder CO., Lynne Rienner, 2002. **U21.2 C68**
- Crawley, H. *Refugees and Gender: Law and Process*, Bristol, Jordan, 2001 **MC HV640.5 W87**.

- Dallmeyer, D. G. (ed) *Reconceiving Reality: women and international law*, Washington, DC, American Society of International Law, 1993 **CC K3243 R31**.
- Davies, M. (ed) *Third World- Second Sex: women's struggles and national liberation*, Part 2, 'Women at War', London, Zed books, 1983 **RTMC HQ1870.9 D25**.
- Der Derian, J. *Virtuous War: mapping the military-industrial-media-entertainment network*, Boulder CO. Westview Press, 2001. **U21.2 D43**
- Eisenstein, Z. *Sexual Decoys: gender, race and war in imperial democracy*, London, Zed books, 2007. **HQ1236 E31**
- Elshtain, J. B. *Women and War*, Chicago, Chicago University Press, 1987; 1995 **CCU21.5 E41**.
- Elshtain, J. B. & Tobias, S. (eds) *Women, Militarism and War*, Lanham, Rowman and Littlefield, 1990 **CC U21.75 W87**.
- Enloe, C. *Maneuvers*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 2000 **CC U21.75 E51**.
- Ferguson, M. L. "'W' Stands For Women: feminism and security rhetoric in the post – 9/11 Bush Administration', *Politics and Gender*, 1. 1, 2005.
- Gardam, J. G. & Jarvis, M. J. *Women, Armed Conflict and International Law*, Boston MA Kluwer Law International, 2001 **MC KZ6471 G21.****
- Gendering War Talk and other contributions, Forum in *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, Vol. 5, No. 3, 2003: 448-470. **HQ1236**
- Goldstein, J. S. *War and Gender*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2001 **CCU21.75 G62**.
- Gray, C. H. *Postmodern War: the new politics of conflict*, New York, Guilford Press, 1997. **D860 G77**
- Graybill, L. 'The Contribution of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission Toward the Promotion of Women's Rights in South Africa', *Women's Studies International Forum*, Vol. 24, No. 1, pp1-10 **HQ1101**.
- Griset, P. L. & Mahan, S. *Terrorism in Perspective*, Thousand Oaks, Sage Publications, 2003 **MC HV6431 T86.****
- Gullace, N. F. 'Women and War in Comparative Perspective', *Gender and History*, Vol. 15, No. 1, 2003: pp 140-145 **HQ1101**.
- Hawkesworth, M. & Alexander, K. (eds) *War and Terror 1: raced-gendered logics and effects in conflict zones*, Special Issue of *Signs: journal of women, culture and society*, 32 (4) 2007.
- Hunt, K. and Rygiel, K. (Ed) *Gendering the War on Terror: war stories and camouflaged politics*, Aldershot, Ashgate: 2006. **HV6432 E51**
- Hunter, A. E. (ed) *On Peace, War and Gender: a challenge to genetic explanations*, New York, Feminist Press at the City University of New York, 1991 **MCRT BF575.A3 O51**.
- Hynes, H. P. 'On the Battlefield of Women's Bodies: an overview of the harm of war to women', *Women's International Studies Forum*, 27, 2004: 431-445.
- Indra, D. *Engendering Forced Migration*, New York, Bergahn Books, 1998 **CCHV640 E56**.
- Jacobs, S., Jacobson, R. & Marchbank, J. (eds) *States of Conflict: gender, violence and resistance*, London, Zed Books, 2000 **CC HV6250.4.W65 S79**.
- Johnson, P. & Kuttab, E. 'Where have All the Women (and Men) Gone? Reflections on gender and the Second Palestinian Intifada', *Feminist Review*, Issue 69, Autumn 2001: pp21-43 **HQ1101**.
- Jones, A. 'Gendercide and Genocide', *Journal of Genocide Research*, Vol. 2, No. 2, 2000: pp185-211 **HV6322.7**.
- Jones, A. (ed) *Gendercide and Genocide*, Nashville, Vanderbilt University Press, 2004. **HV63222.7 G32**
- Kaldor, M. *New and Old Wars: organized violence in a global era* Cambridge, Polity Press, 1999/2006 **CC U21.2 K11**
- Kimmel, M. S. 'Globalization and its Mal(e)Contents: the gendered political economy of terrorism', *International Sociology*, Vol. 18, No. 3, 2003: 603-620. **HMI1**

- Kinsella, H. M. 'Securing the civilian: sex and gender in the laws of war' forthcoming in M. Barnett & R. Duvall (eds) *Power and Global Governance*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2005. **JC330 P88**
- Lorentzen, L. A. & Turpin, J. (eds) *The Women and War Reader*, New York, New York University Press, 1998 **CC D810 W7 W88**.
- McGhee, D. 'Persecution and Social Group Status: Homosexual Refugees in the 1990s', *Journal of Refugee Studies*, Vol. 14, No. 1, 2001: pp20-42 **HV640**.
- Manderson, L. et al 'A Woman without a Man is a Woman at Risk: Women at risk in Humanitarian Programs', *Journal of Refugee Studies*, Vo. 11, No. 3, 1998: pp267-283 **HV640**.
- McKay, S. 'Gender Justice and Reconciliation', *Women's Studies International Forum*, Vol. 23, No. 5, 2000: pp 561-570 **HQ1101**.
- Melander, E. 'Gender Equality and Intrastate Armed Conflict', *International Studies Quarterly*, 49. 4, 2005.
- Melander, E. 'Political Gender Equality and State Human Rights Abuse', *Journal of Peace Research*, 42. 2. 2005: 149-166.
- Mertus, J. *War's Offensive on Women: the humanitarian challenge in Bosnia, Kosovo, and Afghanistan (with a case study on Afghanistan by J. A. Benjamin)*, West Hartford, Conn., Kumarian Press, 2000 **CC HV369 M57**.
- Mertus, J. 'Shouting from the Bottom of the Well: the impact of international trials for wartime rape on women's agency', *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, Vol. 6, No. 1, 2004: 110-128. **HQ1236**
- Minow, M. *Breaking the Cycles of Hatred: Memory, Law and Repair*, ed. N. Rosenblum, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 2002 **MC K 301 M66**.
- Moser, C. & Clark, F. (eds) *Victims, perpetrators or actors? Gender, Armed Conflict and Political Violence*, London, Zed Books, 2001 **CC JC328.6 V64**.
- Neuburger, L de Cataldo & Valentini, T. *Women and Terrorism*, Basingstoke, Macmillan, 1995 **MC HV6431 N47**.
- Nincic, M. & Nincic, D. J. 'Race, Gender and War', *Journal of Peace Research*, vol. 39, No. 5, 2002: pp 547-568 **JX1903**.
- Nayak, M. 'Orientalism and 'saving' US State Identity after 9/11', *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 8. 1. 2006: 42-61.
- Nordstrom, C. 'Wars and Invisible Girls, Shadow Industries and the Politics of Not-Knowing', *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, Vol. 1, No. 1, 1999: pp14-33 **HQ1236**.
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Useful Journals

- Feminist Review* **HQ1101**
Feminist Studies **HQ1101**

Journal of Peace Research **JX1903**
Womens Studies International Forum **HQ1101**
Hypatia **HQ1101**
Signs **HQ1101**
Journal of Women's History **HQ1101**
Gender and History **HQ1101**
International Affairs **JX1**
Ethics and International Affairs **JX1255.E73**
Review of International Studies **JX1**
International Studies Quarterly **JX1**
International Journal of Feminist Politics **HQ1236**
Journal of Refugee Studies **HV640**
Men and Masculinities **HQ1088**

Useful Websites

www.humansecuritybulletin.info/
www.peacewomen.org/
www.gendercide.org/

Sample Examination Paper

IR406: Gender, Justice and War

Answer **THREE** of the following questions, at least **ONE** from Section A and **ONE** from Section B

Section A

1. Is war inherently masculinist?
2. Assess the claim that war is becoming 'feminised'?
3. Critically assess Ruddick's ethic of maternal thinking.
4. Assess the argument that feminist critiques of war fail to grasp the full explanatory relevance of the 'gender variable'.
5. Should feminists be pacifists?
6. Can nationalists be feminists?

Section B

7. Critically assess the impact of the ICTY on the rights of women in war.
8. Analyse and assess the legitimacy and effectiveness of any **one** example of a women's peace movement.
9. 'The army should be an equal opportunities employer like any other'. Discuss.
10. Do women and men get sexually assaulted in war for the same reasons?
11. Does a gender analysis contribute anything to the theory and practice of peace-keeping?
12. Can a gender perspective be helpful in explaining and judging the 'war on terror'?

IR406 Examination Paper, June 2004

3 hours

Answer three questions, at least one from Section A and one from Section B.

Section A

1. What theories of gender are most useful in explaining the predominant sexual division of labour in war?
2. Critically examine the interrelation between war and hegemonic masculinity in the post-cold war period.
3. Does successful peace-keeping require a feminisation of military culture?
4. Is there a contradiction between feminism and nationalism as political projects?
5. Assess feminist critiques of classical just war theory.
6. Assess the claim that the theory and practice of peace are gendered.

Section B

7. Analyse and assess the use of the notion of 'combat-effectiveness' in contemporary policies concerning women and gays in the military.
8. How might the idea of a women only peace movement be justified?
9. What kinds of difference would the implementation of UNSCR 1325 make to peace-making or peace building processes?
10. "The witnesses almost universally experience the trials as dehumanising and re-traumatizing experiences." (Mertus) Critically examine alternatives to ICTs as ways of delivering justice to the victims of sexual violence in war.
11. How is sexual violence against men in situations of violent conflict to be explained?
12. Critically examine the symbolic role of women in representations of the current war on terror.

IR406 Examination Paper, June 2005

3 hours

Answer three questions, at least one from Section A and one from Section B.

Section A

1. Compare and contrast Waltz and Elshtain on the question of how war in the international system is to be explained and understood.
2. EITHER a) Is 'maternal thinking' an adequate ethical response to the practice of war? OR b) Is it possible to articulate a feminist theory of just war?
3. Are 'subordinate nationalisms' compatible with feminist ideology?
4. Examine the role of gendered images and symbols in the legitimization of war.
5. Should the massacre at Srebrenica be classified as 'gendercide'?
6. Does the concept of hegemonic masculinity aid our understanding of war in the post Cold War era?

Section B

7. Assess the arguments of Kinsella and Carpenter that the concept of the 'civilian' in humanitarian law is gendered.
8. Outline and assess the problems facing the implementation of UN Resolution 1325 over the next decade.
9. Are the policies of Western militaries towards the inclusion of women and gays based on the same logic of militarized masculinity?
10. EITHER a) Do women have a distinctive contribution to make to peace making? OR b) What, if any, is the link between feminism and pacifism as political ideologies?
11. How is the systematic use of sexual violence in war to be explained?
12. Do international criminal tribunals represent a masculinist response to delivering justice *post bellum*?

